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SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

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Fifteenth Year
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CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

A Socialist farmer now heads the parliament of Finland.

The third, official and correct figures for the national debt vote is given as \$91,962.

If we can secure economic justice so that the product will go to the producers, we will be willing that idlers shall then also get what they create.

Bernard Shaw debated Socialism with Hilaire Belloc in London last week and the largest hall was too small to hold the crowd that sought admission. The interest was intense.

The official count in Chicago ordered by the courts is showing some big gains for Cunnah, the Socialist candidate for district attorney, who is believed to have been counted out in the thug districts.

Socialism will never work in the world, no indeed. It is too bad. Socialism would never work in the world, no indeed. It is too good, you can't change human nature. Our opponents tell us they are so anxious to run us down that they get their statements crossed.

"Keep my name on your list and forward that valuable paper for the enclosed subscription. Am not able to work very much in winter weather. Reimbursement. Or I would do more."

It is such messages as this that show how unacquainted the militant working class is. They are always in the fight, sickness or no sickness.

The Herald gets occasional manuscripts, written with a soft lead pencil on soft and flimsy paper, that are almost impossible to read. Many such that deserved a better fate have had to be tossed into the waste basket because it has been impossible for the printer to decipher the writing. Please, if in the mind, please.

So far as we are concerned there is no new Socialism, all efforts to make it appear so being decidedly foxy. An admixture of anarchism does not make Socialism new, it only means an attempt to injure the party machinery by trying to mix in some emergency dust, in a sabotager. Our party is a party of political action and in harmony with the international spirit and tactics of the movement. That movement does not change over night to make the party more congenial to incongruous elements.

Some professors like to tell us that the ideal that all are born free and equal is one impossible of realization. People all have different characteristics and abilities, they say, therefore they are not equal. That is all right for their apoplexy. But when we speak of equality we refer to an absolutely square shake and an equality of rights and opportunities to live. We refer to the sort of equality that already exists within the family circle, where the board is spread for equal use of all the members of the family.

There is before me a photograph, a snapshot of brotherly love as evidenced in the so-called "holy" war being waged in the Balkans. Six men,

in full regimentals and guns ready-cocked stand grouped around a small table on which has been placed three korymbus heads—taken from the enemy by these blood-lusting men. How fine the families of those soldiers will feel when the photographs get back home to them, and the families of the former owners of the three heads, when they also see the photographs.

How many representatives had we ought to have in congress—not in the future, but right now do you suppose? I don't know, but I would like to see the question raised on the basis of proportional representation, and the figures are interesting. The Republicans and Progressives would have 230 men in congress, the Democrats 181, and the Social-Democrats 24. No 24 men, if they were wisely chosen according to their abilities to do the greatest amount of good, would make the enemy awfully tired at Washington. I'm a thinking. And yet, in spite of our magnificent voice, the voice of Socialism will be heard at all in the coming congress. Socialism casts practically a million votes in a national election, yet this great and growing body of voters is denied a voice in the making of the nation's laws.

The New York Independent repeats an article from the Industrial Worker beginning, "We are sure no lumber worker in the woods would ever resort to that terrible thing called sabotage. We wish to warn all workers against it." and then goes on at length to show all the things that can be done under the head of sabotage to spoil the product, and to make the workingman a sneak and a coward. The editorial ends up with such pretended cantions as "Don't use sabotage, and for your kind forbearance the boss may be generous enough to cut your wages. . . . For the love of your boss don't use sabotage," etc. Then The Independent says: "It would seem fair to raise the question whether such lockouts are really can legally be printed and sent through the mails. The disguise is too thin." It is just characteristic of the cowardice of the saboteurs that they bank upon quiescence and cowardice on the other side. But capitalism is it is quiescent under such injuries if only seemingly so, and for a purpose. It does not believe in pulling on its hook simply for a nibble, it means to land its fish, and to land it with terrible effect when the proper time comes.

A few years ago the German Kaiser repeated with approval a statement made by Bismarck to the effect that it would be better to court uprisings of the workers before they get control so that they could be put down with the savagery of the state and whipped into submission. If the German Social-Democrats were too sharp and too long-headed to play into his hands. Likewise the wise leaders in industrial labor conflicts hold their men under discipline lest some unthinking, hot-headed ones commit overt acts, and thus give the enemy the chance it is looking for. The capitalist side has even been known to plant bombs in the hope of putting it on labor and giving the chance for the club and the bayonet. The chance saboteurs offers is not likely to be overlooked. Already you may have seen the capitalist

interests have their spies in the ranks of the workers, masquerading as valiant fighters who believe in direct action and setting the rest on. Doubtless Mr. Burns could tell a few things on this point, if he were to talk. The saboteurs are being played with as the cat plays with the mouse. The end can easily be foreseen.

According to a statement by F. D. Warren of the Appeal to Reason it has lately been discovered that that paper has been the silent victim of sabotage for several years, by which some Lyman skunks disguised as faithful employees were right along trimming the mail lists in the office so that large numbers of subscribers from time to time did not get the papers they had paid for. Indeed, it is probable that the largely fakish assault by Wilhelm on the postal authorities (in order to get sympathy and subscriptions from Socialists), the Appeal was led to think that the postal officials and their minions were trying to head off the circulation of the paper. That sort of work would be pretty risky for government officials to resort to, and the experience of the Social-Democratic Herald with the post office authorities, in which we have thus far always had fair treatment, led us to feel right along that the Appeal was suspecting the wrong persons—save, of course, as some fool old party politician in some small place might be a little stupid at times in handling a Socialist bundle. The above gives us some idea of what might happen all along the line, if our capitalist enemies who surround us on all sides were to take up the sabotage idea against us. The handing of Socialist papers by artificially directed waves of workmen wouldn't be a marker to what we would get so long as the enemy were in political control of the country.

When the bill restricting immigration was called up for passage, Representative Victor L. Berger voted "No." He was the only one of the trade unionists in congress to vote against the measure, which was backed by the American Federation of Labor, and which passed.

In explaining his vote, Berger said: "I do not think the time has yet arrived when we must limit immigration, although I can appreciate why the trade unions feel the effect of the continual stream of cheap labor from the eastern and southern part of Europe, which is having a depressing influence on wages, even though only a temporary one. But even if it is only temporary—and the working class is always able to rally with the aid of unionism—I will admit as a Socialist and as a trade union man that on the whole the standard of living in our country during the last 40 years has been on the downward, and not on an upward grade when compared with

the tremendous resources of the country.

"Yet in spite of all this, I voted against the bill simply for Socialists and humanitarian reasons, because I believe we should not stand in the way of any white people trying to improve their condition by coming to this country, even if the American working class does have to know they are some extent. Undoubtedly the Russians, Slovians, Italians, Bulgarians, Armenians and other people who come to our shores improve their economic condition very materially, and as a Socialist I want to give them this chance."

It is reported from Nanking, China, that a great Socialist congress has lately taken place there, and that it was decided to form a Socialist party and to publish a paper with the title "The Chinese Republican."

"The words 'general strike' says Jules Guédel, 'have already done much harm. General strike, and strike! And they vote no more.'"

The syndicalist of today bears a striking resemblance to what used to be known as the impossibilist and the career of the impossibilist is one of the most devious and intricate known to history. Whoever invented the title deserves the name of genius. The impossibilist is the very essence of inconsistency. At one period he is an anarchist, at another a fanatical direct actionist. In this country, the very ones fought industrial action. They urged the workers to abandon their unions and to stop useless and ineffective strikes. At that time they argued that political action alone had revolutionary possibilities. Today they are opposed by the impossibilists. Nothing but strikes will avail anything. In England, where the workers have developed three forms of struggle, the trade union, the labor party and the co-operative, all three are opposed by the impossibilists. They are anti-trade union, anti-parliamentary, and anti-co-operative. On the other hand, the impossibilists of France are anti-parliamentary, but not anti-trade union, nor anti-co-operative. In Germany they fight the Socialist party with the same venom with which in Belgium and England they fight the labor parties. In America, they now fight both the trade unions and the Socialist party. It matters not what form of organization the working class adopts, the impossibilist is found fighting that organization. It seems to be a part of their temperament to dread the contact that any work in the labor movement is quiet, persistent and methodical seems to arouse their deepest ire.

It is only for these reasons that their new cry, "The general strike," has already done, as the saying is, much harm. "The substitute," as Marx once said, "revolutionary phrases for revolutionary evolution." The general strike idea is not in itself a menace to organization. Men might discuss it calmly and even seriously toward the day when a general strike might be declared. The idea is very alarming when it is associated with the tactics of vote no more, organize no more, build no more.—Robert Hunter.

Post Office After Appeal.

The other example of the post office arbitrary censorship of newspapers and other publications which outraged Berger to action was the one which resulted in the indictment of The Appeal to Reason editors for publishing the accounts of revolting conditions in newsworthy Pennsylvania, thereby violating the post office censor's idea of what constitutes obscenity.

Berger's resolution orders the committee to go into a complete investigation of this power which the mail is given to censor a few post office underlings, with the idea of taking this check off of the press of the country which desire in remembrance.

"What Every Girl Should Know," in its issue of Sunday, Feb. 9, in the space formerly occupied by this series, The Call printed: "What Every Girl Should Know. Nothing. By Order of the Post Office."

Press Must Be Free.

"More than any constitution in the world, and more than all the juries on earth is a free and untrammelled press the bulwark of liberty. A free press is also the best guarantee of progress in political, social and economic affairs. Therefore, we must jealously guard the liberty of the press, no matter whether publication is capitalistic, Socialistic, or anarchistic. Inert Hunter.

(Continued to 4th page.)

Berger Scores Gompers Group!

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Although the Democratic party made a successful campaign last fall largely on the claim of being the friend of the working class, the rules committee of the house, dominated by the Democratic leaders of congress, has stifled Representative Victor L. Berger's resolution, calling upon congress to investigate the garment workers' strike in New York.

The hundred thousand garment workers, many of them trade union members, were engaged in a desperate struggle to better their economic condition, yet not one of the so-called Gompers trades union "men" in congress came to the support of the resolution which the only Socialist member of congress was trying single-handed to have passed.

Such an investigation was not part of the Democratic program. The Democratic bosses saw no need of investigating the New York strike at this time. It will be two years before congress is up for re-election, and in that time the working class is expected to forget the indifference which congress is now showing to a struggle involving the very lives of thousands of workers. And so the congressmen who before each election make loud demonstrations of their membership in labor unions paid no attention to the Berger resolution.

The resolution was referred to the committee on rules of the house, chairman Robert L. Henry of Texas is a staunch friend of the working class—just before election. It was he who took favorable action on Berger's resolution, calling for investigation of the Lawrence, Mass., strike—just as the Democratic party was preparing to enter a presidential campaign.

Committee Hesitates.

Berger did not expect the rules committee at this time to order an investigation by a special committee because of the short duration of life left to the present congress. He did think that the rules committee itself would take some testimony prior to acting on the resolution. Accordingly, the Socialist member took a trip to New York to arrange with the strike leaders to send witnesses to Washington.

Now Berger has been informed that the resolution has been pigeon-holed. No action will be taken on it at all and it will die on March 4. In vain Berger demanded that at least a sub-committee of the committee conduct a preliminary investigation; Henry was obdurate.

With the slightest support from the union labor group in congress Berger could undoubtedly have got favorable action on the resolution. It was a rules committee investigation which Berger secured for his Lawrence resolution, but that investigation, insufficient at it was, actually resulted in the settlement of the strike. The Lawrence capitalists could not stand the revelations of the federal searchlight. Even a two or three-day investigation of the present New York strike would unquestionably have resulted in great good to the strikers. The investigation would have shown the country the country the shocking conditions among the wage slaves in the New York industry, and outraged public opinion would have demanded a speedy settlement.

Workers Are Responsible.

"The workers themselves are responsible for this defeat," said Berger, "because they have sent to congress only one representative of the party of the working class. If we had 50 Socialists in congress, even though we would be a minority, we could force this resolution through. We would demand a vote on it on the floor of the house, and there are few politicians who would dare go on record against such an investigation."

"Even with 19 or a dozen Socialists in congress we could force the passage of this and similar resolutions," continued Berger. "With the house pressed for time, as it is, a small group of men could begin a filibuster and force almost anything they wished from congress. But one man alone can do nothing."

Responsibility for the pigeon-holding of the Berger resolution rests with Henry, although he probably acted in accord with the wishes of the Democratic bosses of the house. Henry refused to call a meeting of his committee to consider the resolution, and so no vote in the committee was taken and no man is on record against the resolution.

Lambasted the Mob.

He excoriated the mob mob that had murdered Lovejoy. With virtuous pen he manacled them to the whipping post of his ire. He lashed them unmercifully with the keen edge of his blither wit and his righteous wrath. He spoke no one but the whole, respectable, blood-thirsty gang in one scathing category, sparing neither knave nor ape.

Berger's scathing thrust was too much for the citizens of Stratford

county. They were aroused, intensely aroused. If he wanted to preach anarchy, they declared vehemently, he ought to go elsewhere. This fellow Lovejoy was some irresponsible, brain-cracked agitator and undoubtedly deserved his fate.

"Leading Citizens" on Job.

The edition of The Clarion, containing Berger's challenge to respectability was now a week old. The Rev. Peter Spence, with the assistance of the Knights of Gaidard, the Ladies auxiliary, Zola Haskell, the proprietor of Bold Eagle Inn, Elias Wood, the barkeeper, Sam Wells, the mill owner, Ezra Tuttle, the liverymen, Abe Cavendish, the general storekeeper, and the notorious Mrs. Warren and her girls had sedulously gone about for a week arousing prejudices against The Clarion and using every possible means to hurt its circulation. They had even gone to such ridiculous lengths as to say that the abolition of slavery would break up the family,

HE WOULDN'T HAVE TO HANDLE SO MANY MEN IF WE HAD THE COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Capitalist—Never mind, boys, our ticket will win.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Socialist Farmer Replies to Congressman Rainey

Antioch, Calif., Jan. 31, 1913.

Hon. H. T. Rainey, Washington, D. C. Sir:—There was mailed to me, from Washington, D. C., Sept. 25th, 1912, an envelope, under your frank, with the following inscription in very plain type:

House of Representatives U. S. Part of Cong. Record—Free.

BERGER ATTACKS THE SMALL FARMER.

What to Read on Socialism.

The envelope contained a pamphlet also headed:

Berger Attacks the Small Farmer.

What to Read on Socialism.

(From the Congressional Record, July 18, 1912.)

Mr. Rainey said:—Mr. Speaker, Under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record, I include in my remarks an article which appeared recently in the Anti-Socialist on the subject of Socialism, together with a list of books on the subject of Socialism. Both articles are very brief, and

I desire to have them printed in connection with the speech of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Berger).

The matter above referred to is as follows:

[From the American Anti-Socialist, April, 1912.]

Now, as to his statement that Socialism will not guarantee a farmer possession of his farm, we the farmers are delighted to hear it. We have long been afraid that we would be left out to compete after the shop and factory hands and all other producers and distributors of wealth, or commodities, had reached the point where they were living a safe, sane, comfortable, and happy life under Socialism. If Hell has a back-yard anywhere I think it is made up of the small farms, where the women and children toil without hope of reward; as, if there should be a slight reward for farm labor on the small farm, it goes to the men under the capitalist system.

We farmers know that our laborers and clothe the officials of towns,

how it is possible for you to construe the fact, that a man does not guarantee to others certain things or conditions, as an attack upon them, be they farmers or otherwise; but you would no doubt willingly frank Mr. Berger's speech to any one who desires it.

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Berger Asks Public Railroads!

WASHINGTON, D. C.—At the same time that the managers of the eastern railroads and the representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen were today showing no signs of reaching an agreement in the dispute over the demands of the firemen for higher wages, Representative Victor L. Berger, the only Socialist in the house, introduced a resolution for the government to acquire the railroads on the grounds of public emergency and the right of eminent domain.

Anticipating that the firemen would reject their counter proposition made yesterday, the railroad managers involved in the dispute today prepared to attempt to avert the threatened strike by granting still further concessions. President Carter of the firemen presented his answer to the amended proposal today through Judge Knapp and Commissioner Neill. The firemen declared they would listen to nothing except arbitration under the Erdman act.

The Berger resolution for the government acquisition of the railroads recites that the strike of the firemen will tie up 50,000 miles of railroad, employing 40,000 firemen, and has more than 600,000 men on serving payrolls in all capacities, and serving approximately the needs of 50,000,000 people.

Private Ownership Falls.

That a strike of such dimensions, affecting so many workers and so disorganizing the whole machinery of distribution should be possible, Berger declares to be conclusive proof of the failure of private ownership and private management has proved its utter inefficiency over and over again, and now is on the point of a total collapse," declares Berger in his resolution.

The text of the resolution introduced by Representative Berger is as follows:

"Whereas, The firemen on 54 eastern railroads—employing about 40,000 firemen and having on their payrolls more than 600,000 persons in all capacities, and serving approximately the daily needs of 50,000,000 people—have declared their decision to go on strike on Monday, February 17, 1913, and tie up the operation of these properties; and

"Whereas, This is merely one new demonstration of the failure of private ownership and private management of the railroads which private ownership has over and over again

proved its utter inefficiency, and is now on the point of a total collapse, and

Poorest Roads Anywhere.

"Whereas, Our railroads are now the poorest equipped and most unsafe of any civilized country—they killed 10,155 and injured 77,175 through accidents during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912—these casualties being about 10 times as many in proportion to the number of people travelling than the casualties of England, Germany or France; and

"Whereas, These conditions are bound to become worse, because according to the best railroad authorities it will require about \$9,000,000 to make the various railroad systems of our country comparatively safe, and so much private capital is not to be had for that purpose; and

"Whereas, Government regulation and supervision, as based on the interstate commerce laws, have not proven to be satisfactory or efficient in dealing with the railroads because railroads being a public utility are necessarily monopolistic by nature, and thus we are left only to choose between private monopoly where the interest of the public are subservient to profit and dividends, or a public monopoly where the interests of the public are paramount; therefore be it

Resolved, By the senate and house of representatives of the United States, that in case of a strike, and a tieup

(Continued to 4th page.)

All About the Mob That Hunted Editor Burgess of The Clarion for Telling the Bitter Truth

All of Stratford county, from Pittsfield, the county seat, to Belleville on the extreme south, was in a state of feverish excitement.

Hector Burgess, the editor of The Clarion, had turned the trick at last. For some time The Clarion had been running editorials which were thinly veiled attacks on the institution of slavery.

Burgess had somehow gotten acquainted with a couple of Boston negro lovers named Garrison and Phillips, and had become infected with the abolition virus.

Rev. Spence Bides Time.

The Rev. Peter Spence was the first to discover Burgess' secret sympathy with the new movement. He bided his time, however. He kept his keen eyes on Burgess' editorial clipping sentences and paragraphs here and there to be used at the proper time.

A malcontent named Elijah Lovejoy had just been brutally and cowardly

murdered somewhere out in a Mississippi valley for agitating "gains" the slave traffic. His little printing plant had been wrecked and he had been foully murdered by an angry populace composed for the most part of leading citizens.

In the edition of The Clarion following the tragedy, Burgess came out bravely on the front page with an open confession of faith. He declared flatly, unequivocally and irrevocably for abolition.

Lambasted the Mob.

He excoriated the mob mob that had murdered Lovejoy. With virtuous pen he manacled them to the whipping post of his ire. He lashed them unmercifully with the keen edge of his blither wit and his righteous wrath. He spoke no one but the whole, respectable, blood-thirsty gang in one scathing category, sparing neither knave nor ape.

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People Are Aroused.

The people became highly aroused at the peridy of Burgess. "What?" they cried in anger and disgust. "Would the mad Burgess make common property of our good wives, daughters and sisters? Away with him! Down with Burgess! Down with The Stratford County Clarion."

Like a prairie fire, this sinister prejudice against Burgess and his pe-

per spread through the county. Cisterns, fence faces and a demoniac light in their eyes; he saw the mass of frenzied humanity surge toward him like a giant breaker on the seashore. He heard the cracking, the ripping, the breaking of doors and windows. They were coming. They were coming like mad, insatiable beasts through the doors of The Leader office when—

Did you notice that we forgot and said Leader instead of Clarion. We said, Leader in our excitement, but, after all, we mean Leader instead of Clarion.

Batter Down Doors.

Now, you've got The Milwaukee Leader's situation in a nutshell. Comrade, if you stop reading you'll miss much. We know you won't stop. You wouldn't, and you couldn't see any danger come to your paper.

The force that battered down the doors of The Clarion are the same forces that are trying to batter down the doors of The Leader. The Clarion

was alone—without support—but The Leader has YOU to depend on.

We're suffering from a deficit that's as painful and as dangerous as a highly inflamed appendix. We've got to undergo an operation. You must be our surgeon. We ask you to cut out this deficit for us.

Subscribe \$5 or \$10 or whatever you can for our six per cent interest-bearing Income Bonds which are issued in \$5 denominations. You are practically loaning us the money instead of giving it to us. Later, we will pay you interest on it.

We need money, Comrade, to meet very pressing obligations. Help us. Send in \$1 for one bond or \$1 for 10 bonds as your first payment. You can pay at the rate of \$1 a month for each bond subscribed.

Use an ordinary piece of paper with your name and address written plainly on it. Send your letter now and save the doors of The Leader from being battered down. Let us hear from you at once, Comrade.—R.

What'll Stop Sour Stomach?

They Act Quick and Relief Is Almost Immediate.

* There are some things no exactly right that to mention them brings calm and repose. And to use Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets gives the stomach just that kind of lift that makes you check up one hundred per cent to the good. Particularly is this true with those who suffer with sour stomach. You feel no mean that you actually hate yourself. And yet in a few minutes these tablets sweeten the stomach, arrest unnatural fermentation, start a powerful digestive action and prevent the formation of gas.

They are composed of only six digestants as approved by the very best of physicians.

Real, live, progressive people want to be around where the activities of life embrace whatever circumstances dictate. If a house party serves a Welsh rarebit go to it. It isn't the easiest thing in the world to digest, 'tis true, but what of it? Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets will take care of you, keep your stomach in control and your dreams won't seem an army of hobgoblins playing hob with your nerves. Many physicians regularly prescribe Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets for the stomach disorders of patients who are ill with some constitutional malady. They do so for the reason that these tablets are not a patent medicine and their composition is known and recognized as the most approved and most powerful of all digestants.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are sold and recommended by all druggists at 50c a box.—Adv.

Cure Yourself With 2c Turkish Bath

Remarkable Results of Robinson "Thermal" Bath in Rheumatism, Nervous Breakdown, Kidney Trouble, Skin and Other Diseases.

Does What No Drug on Earth Can Do.



The results produced by a Robinson "Thermal" Bath in less than 10 minutes are almost beyond belief. Rheumatism, even where it is chronic, disappears. In the case of rheumatism, that uric acid in the blood can be extracted from the system and carried off in a few days.

Eczema can be completely cured within a week.

After one or two Thermal Baths, nervous wrecks find the change to strength and vigor hard to realize. In cases of kidney trouble, neuritis, pimpls, "it" skin diseases, throat and lung troubles, in emaciation, constipation, indigestion and colds.

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Milwaukee's "Non-Partisan" Administration Already a Failure!

At the end of nine months Mayor Bading has been forced to confess that his administration is a failure.

The mayor has alienated his supporters in the council. He has lost the confidence and respect of that considerable body of citizens who expected that his election would initiate an administration which would be free from partisan bias. He has quarreled with The Free Press and The Journal, both of which were important agencies in creating the impression in the public mind that he was admirably qualified for executive office.

The Free Press, in reviewing the "non-partisan" administration, places upon Mayor Bading the responsibility for its failure. It says:

Nine months of Bading rule are already history and the big things to which the administration is pledged are still "up in the air." That is due not only to the unfortunate manner in which they have been undertaken, but to the delay of the mayor in getting them under way. With his reputation of the council, how does he expect to get things done during the next twelve months?

It requires a great deal of optimism to see the situation as other than discouraging. Nor will blinking the hard facts help any. The mayor's talk of appealing to the people may sound well, but it would not set him very far even if he were popular. The one thing for him to do is to change his tactics and get on speaking terms with the council once more. It is the only way.

Mayor Bading has ability enough. It is his temperamental weakness that works the mischief. That is why the Free Press, foreseeing the inevitable result of his conduct, has so repeatedly warned him against it.

It is not our function to serve as defender or apologist for Mayor Bading. We recognize his limitations. If he were not so intense in his hatred, if he were disposed to be philosophical instead of dogmatic, he would never have made the blunders that he has made. We can assure him that his worst enemies, if he has any enemies, and we cannot conceive of any one really being an enemy of Mr. Bading any more than we can conceive of any one being an enemy of a petulant child—could not have desired him to act differently from the way that he has acted.

The causes for the failure of the "non-partisan" administration lie deeper than the temperamental weakness and narrow vision of the man who is serving as mayor.

The Socialist party gave to Milwaukee a responsible party government, in which every department of government co-operated. It was the first time, we believe, that the experiment had ever been successfully attempted in an American municipality. It immediately aroused the opposition of those citizens whose ideals are individualistic and chaotic. "The caucus," which unified the several departments of government that theoretically are independent and pre-

sented in a harmonious without coming in contact, and which in fact are in constant conflict, aroused the greatest alarms. Policies of government were no longer being determined in the old way. Things were being done with clock-like precision. The governmental machine was being operated by men who had a purpose and a program. It was described as "dangerous." Our liberties were imperiled. The people were being ruled by an "oligarchy of Socialist bosses," though every act was considered and discussed and acted upon deliberately and decided upon its merits.

There were united against the Socialists elements which are essentially repellent and which can have no lasting affinity.

The non-partisan ideal rejects the party as an instrument by which government may be efficiently administered. Every official should be a separate unit in the governmental scheme. In place of the Newtonian theory in government, with its three independent and co-ordinate branches, the non-partisan theory calls for as many separate and independent branches as there are officials. Every alderman is a party unto himself. Confusion under such conditions becomes chaos.

To the extent that the "non-partisan" administration has been partisan, to the extent that it has been guided by a unity of purpose and has been welded into a compact organization, it has been able to achieve. To the extent that it has lived up to the non-partisan ideal it has met with confusion and failure.

The mayor is not alone at fault. There are forces at play that would break the strongest man were he to undertake to compress and direct them to a common end, and which, undirected, can only neutralize and dissipate their energies.—The Milwaukee Leader.

The increase in salaries by the common council will add \$55,000 a year to the city's payroll. The increase in salaries was voted in face of the pledge in the "non-partisan" platform:

We condemn the conduct of the present administration in adding to the payroll scores of needless officers and employees. If competent persons are appointed the business of the city can be conducted more efficiently with much less help.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO REDUCE THE EXPENSES OF THE CITY BY ABOLISHING ALL UNNECESSARY POSITIONS and by establishing the principle that faithful performance of duties, and not political influence, will insure retention and promotion.

The distress of Alderman Bogk, who has consistently opposed increase in public expenditures, that the mayor should show "favorit-

ism" in vetoing wage increases of the lowest paid city employees while approving increases of officials whose influence in "non-partisan" politics is considerable, is warranted. His regret that the present administration is scattering the public funds with a prodigality exceeding that of any of its predecessors, we may believe, is genuine. The alderman protested:

I want you to take the people with you to the reckless extravagance of the "non-partisan" administration. IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION \$70,000 MORE WAS SPENT THAN IN THE SAME PERIOD OF THE SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATION. THIS IS \$114,000 MORE THAN WAS SPENT IN THE SAME PERIOD OF THE LAST ROBE ADMINISTRATION. I HAVE GONE THROUGH THE FIGURES CAREFULLY AND THERE IS ABOUT \$10,000 SPENT DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE "NON-PARTISAN" ADMINISTRATION WHICH I CAN'T FIND. THE EXPENSE HAS CREPT IN SOMEWHERE.

It would be impossible for the present administration to conduct the municipality at a lower cost than under the Seidel administration, which, after it had relieved itself from the burden of unpaid obligations that it inherited, accomplished more for a smaller expenditure than had ever been accomplished in the history of the municipal government. It was, indeed, the first municipal administration to have a comprehensive grasp of the larger duties of municipal government. It did not consider that it had fulfilled its sole mission when it provided for graftless street paving and honest public work. It recognized that there are social functions which, under an enlightened administration of municipal affairs, must be taken in hand by the municipal government.

It is true that the "non-partisan" administration has saved a few thousand dollars by halting the child welfare work begun by its predecessor. It has ended the bureau of efficiency and economy. It has dismissed from office the comparatively few Socialists that had been appointed by the heads of departments. But it has filled their places with "non-partisan" political workers. The "horde of needless officials," which our "non-partisan" contemporaries were fearful would eat the taxpayers out of house and home if the municipal government should not be turned over to the capitalist interests, has assumed larger proportions with the necessity of providing places for the partisans of two parties fused into a common appetite.

The "non-partisan" administration has conspicuously failed in its promise to reduce public expenditures, but while it is spending more money than ever it has initiated no new undertakings and has served only as a spoke in the wheel of municipal progress.—The Milwaukee Leader.

Socialist Small Farmer Answers Capitalist Politician

(Continued from 1st page.)

in the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania; and the recent purchase of Rockefeller in a southern state, to be worked by scientists, or the 50,000 acre farm, in the Sacramento valley, owned by Patrick Calhoun, of United Railroad's fame, and his associates. And there is the immense development of farm tractors that has been reached. I can hear two of them now as I write working in the fields. They are displacing both men and horses so that the bonanza farms need not even employ thousands of men now nor in the future.

We know who is attacking the "small farmer." It is the water in the stocks and bonds of capitalism, on which we have to produce the interest. Its railroad rates, the capitalist-owned tractors, the 50,000 acre farms with which we cannot compete, and in some states it is the irrigation system, for example The Crocker-Huffman company in the case of the Cressy Colony, California. The company dug the ditches and brought the water to the land under an agreement that they should receive a bonus of \$25,000, and a payment of \$2.00 an acre a month for every acre put under water. How would you like to work for years in the hot sun of California, for the privilege of paying \$24 per acre per year, just for water, Mr. Rainey? I am sure you would think that the Crocker-Huffman Co. were making a very foolish attack; I think you would rejoice with the "Old Hayseed," who, when they told him that

the Socialists would take his farm away from him, said: "By jing! Hoo-ray! they'll have to take the mortgage, too!"

Because the bonanza farms of 25 years ago went to pieces, the small farmer does not see any reason why the modern bonanza farm with its improved machinery and methods should go to pieces; nor does he think I know want them to go to pieces; we only want to own socially our rightful share in them, so we will not have to compete with them for the profit of everyone who profits under the exchanges of the capitalist system, that you represent instead of the people.

Your editor of the Anti-Socialist would have us believe that the failure of co-operative colonies has been on account of some inherent defect in co-operation; but I, having been engaged in organizing at 2 running a co-operative colony, claim that it has been only the criminal machinations of capitalism against co-operators that has been the cause of their defeat.

After praising private exploitation, your editor declares that: "Individualism makes the desert blossom as the rose." Socialism would turn every garden into a desert." But I maintain that individualism scours mankind with fire and famine, as our thousands of homeless men, women, and children, can testify; that where it does not destroy and drive men, women, and children, into the street with policemen's clubs and soldier's bayonets; as, in Lawrence, Mass., and West Virginia lately, it is because it has prevented workmen and workwomen from having any home to destroy; that it has given the lands of the people, millions of acres at a time, to land-grabbing speculating corporations, both native and foreign; that on that account the homeless workers in our fair land can travel hundreds of miles without the privilege of a meal, a drink, or a sleep; as they would be liable to arrest if they put their feet on one of the 14 million acres of Henry Miller, much of said land being gained by fraud; or the 4,500,000 acres of the Holland Land Co. of New Mexico; or on the 3,000,000 acres of English Syndicate No. 3 in Texas; or the 2,000,000 acres of Sir Edward Reed and Syndicate in Florida, and a long list of other little individual holdings I can cite to you, if you wish.

These lands are not for sale; they are not for homes for the defrauded people; they are the prison yards for Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, and other alien slaves and machines to produce profits for their masters. Socialism alone would return the use of those lands to our citizens, and Socialism not only guarantees every citizen who works a home; but also an ample income to maintain that home. It would make the world "blossom as the rose" and be fit to live in.

Yours truly,
KATE L. NEVINS.

Lincoln and Marx.

KARL MARX was an ardent admirer of Lincoln. Throughout the civil war, when the aristocracy and "upper classes" of England were doing all in their power to help the southern states perpetuate slavery in America, Marx threw his great influence on the side of the north.

English Workers Suffered.

Thousands of English workmen, especially in the cotton industry, had been thrown out of work because the civil war in America cut off their supply of raw material. The English aristocracy and capitalist class were struggling for a victory in favor of the recognition of the Confederate states. They expected to gain the support of the working class on the pretext that they were being made to make it possible to get raw material from America without delay.

Marx (who at that time was living in England) and other leaders of the working class movement began to lead the workers to the true significance of the struggle in America. They pointed out that a victory for the Confederacy meant a victory for slavery, while a victory for the north meant a victory for freedom. When the workers understood these facts they vigorously opposed any recognition of the Confederacy by England, even though the continuance of the war meant starvation for them.

They held demonstrations in the great industrial centers such as Manchester, adopted resolutions favorable to the North and sent copies to the British government and to President Lincoln. The following letter was sent by Lincoln in response to a set of these resolutions:

Lincoln's Letter in Full.

"Executive Mansion, Washington, Jan. 19, 1861.

"To the Workmen of Manchester:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election to preside in the government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or who could be held responsible for it, the duty, one duty paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the constitution and the integrity of the federal republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the first of all the measures of administration which have been and to which I will hereafter be pursued. Under our form of government and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose. It would be to authorize a belief that the power of government to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt.

Foreign Influence Important.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people, but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has led me to authorize a belief that the past action and influence of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances to some of which you kindly allude—induce me especially to expect that justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more

then she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

Workers Heroic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workmen in Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow the government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our deluded citizens the workmen of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or any country.

(Continued to 4th page.)

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